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9 The historical geographical distribution of periphrastic *do* in southern dialects

1 Introduction

The use of unstressed periphrastic *do* in affirmative declarative sentences is fairly well-documented already in nineteenth century descriptions of south-western dialects. However, it is not possible to determine the geographical distribution of this feature in any detail on the basis of these descriptions. And, somewhat surprisingly, even the more recent discussions of south-western dialects offer conflicting descriptions of the geographical distribution of *do*-periphrasis. It is sometimes claimed (see Wakelin 1977, 1983, 1984a) that the use of periphrastic *do* is a very isolated feature in some south-western localities, possibly a remnant of a single, larger area. But others (cf. Rogers 1979) have argued that the use of *do*-periphrasis is more widespread in the South-West of England. My aim in this chapter is to determine the geographical distribution of periphrastic *do* in English dialects. The discussion is based both on the published *SED* material and on the unpublished incidental material found in the *SED* fieldworker notebooks, which provides a rich, but surprisingly little-used, corpus of dialectal verb syntax.¹

2 Previous attempts at delimiting the geographical distribution of periphrastic *do* in English dialects

Joseph Wright states in his *English Dialect Grammar* that ‘the periphrastic form *I do love*, &c. for *I love*, &c. is in gen[eral] use in the south-western dialects’ (1905: 297). Unfortunately, however, Wright does not give any more detailed indication of the geographical boundaries of the use of *do*-periphrasis. A survey of some nineteenth century descriptions of south-western dialects confirms that periphrastic *do* was used at least in Cornwall (Jago 1882: 57), Dorset (Barnes 1886: 23), Gloucester (Robertson 1890: 37), and Somerset (Elworthy 1877: 49–51). It is worth remarking that, some 50 years earlier, Jennings (1825) does not single out the use of periphrastic *do* in his discussion of the

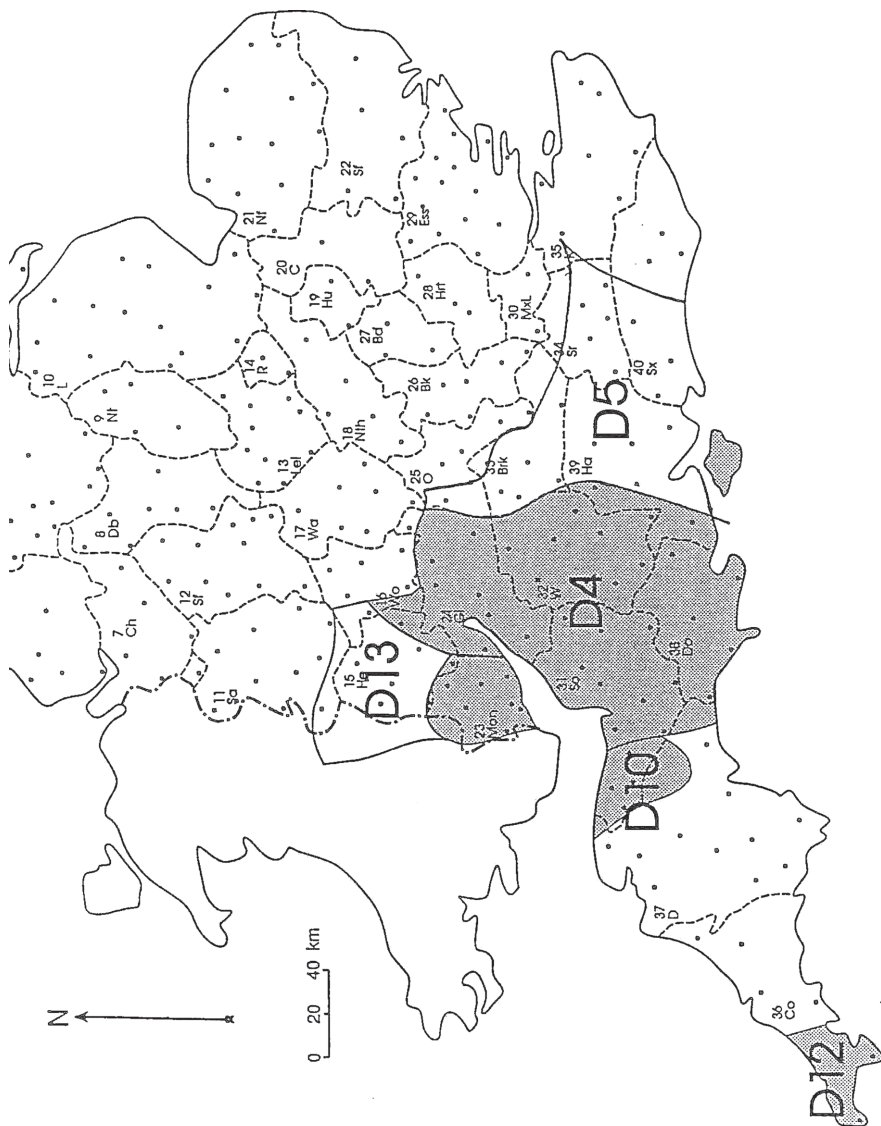
¹ This is a revised version of the data and argument first presented in my unpublished PhD thesis (Klemola 1996: 21–74).

‘remarkable facts’ and ‘peculiarities’ of the dialect of Somerset. It does not seem likely that Jennings could just have failed to observe the use of DO-periphrasis as his discussion is, on the whole, very detailed, including such features as the differences in third person singular marking in verbs (-*th*/*-eth* vs. -s) between West and East Somerset (op.cit.: 3), the use of the inflected infinitive (op.cit.: 6–7), forms of BE (op.cit.: 7) and *a*-prefixing (op.cit.: 8). It is more probable that Jennings, writing in 1825, simply did not consider the use of periphrastic DO as a markedly dialectal feature, i.e. at the beginning of the nineteenth century the form had not yet become stigmatized in Standard English. Visser’s (1963–73: 1507–09) discussion of the eighteenth century grammars, which indicates that till the late eighteenth century some grammarians, at least, gave the simple and periphrastic forms simply as alternatives, lends some support to this idea.²

The only detailed information on the geographical distribution of the use of periphrastic DO in English dialects towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, is found in Alexander Ellis’s monumental study, *On Early English Pronunciation. Part V: The Existing Phonology of English Dialects Compared with that of West Saxon Speech*. (Ellis 1889).³ Although Ellis does not explicitly discuss the geographical boundaries of the use of periphrastic DO, it is still possible to reconstruct at least roughly the area where the construction was in use on the basis of the comments scattered in his study. According to Ellis, DO-periphrasis was found in his areas D4 (Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and parts of West Hampshire), D10 (West Somerset) and D12 (West Cornwall), as well as in parts of his areas D5 (Isle of Wight) and D13 (in Monmouthshire). Map 1, which shows the geographical distribution of periphrastic DO during the latter half of the nineteenth century, has been drawn on the basis of the remarks found in Ellis (1889). The following remarks were used as the basis for Map 1:

² Visser quotes Anselm Bayly’s (1772) *A Plain and Complete Grammar of the English Language*, which gives, without any comment, the forms “*I love/I do love; I loved/I did love*” and Lewis Brittain’s (1778) *Rudiments of English Grammar*, which recognises the following uses of DO: “Thus: 1° *I do, or did love*; 2° *I have, I had, or I shall have done loving*; 3° Imperative, or entreating: *Do let him love.*” Visser’s latest quote is William Cobbett’s (1818/1833) *A Grammar of the English Language*, which states that “As an auxiliary or helper, it [sc. *do*] seems to denote the time of the principal verb: as *I do walk, I did walk*; and we may say, *I do execute my work, or, I do do my work.*” However, as Visser points out, Cobbett adds the cryptic remark: “However ... *do* and *did*, used as auxiliaries, do a great deal more than express time. In fact they are not often used for that purpose only.”

³ Ellis’s pioneering dialectological work has often been unjustly underestimated or ignored. For a reappraisal of Ellis as a dialectologist, see Shorrocks (1991).



Map 1: Periphrastic DO in South-West England towards the end of the nineteenth century (after Ellis 1889).

1) D4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern

In grammatical construction, that which strikes a stranger most is *I be* for *I am*, the prefix (*e*) before the past participle, as ((*ɜ*'i)v *ədɜ*'n) 'I have a-done'; and the periphrastic form *I do go* for the simple *I go*, together with the curious use of the nominative for the objective case, and sometimes the converse. (p.43)

2) D5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern, Var iii, Isle of Wight

I be, we'm going, don't us, I've a walked, I do know, are general. (p.107)

BUT: D5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern:

In grammar, *I be, he be, we am, they am*, are heard, not *I are. I lives* not *I do live, he live, we lives*. (p.96)

3) D12 = w.WS. = western West Southern

7. "Isn't half a man," says she, "he'll guzzle all the liquor he can hitch and scrape, and he do pay nobody. Some do say he isn't particular about taking what isn't his own. (p. 172)

4) D13 = SW. = South Western. Mo = Monmouthshire

Mo., though long a part of England by law, is essentially Welsh in feeling. By Chepstow, on the borders of Gl., the pronunciation, to judge from the *wl.* sent me by Dr. J. Yeats, approaches very near to that of adjoining Gl., D4. The use of auxiliary *do* and *did* is the rule, as it seems to be among Welsh speakers. (p.179)

The use of the periphrastic forms, as *did tell* for *told*, was regular. (*ibid.*)

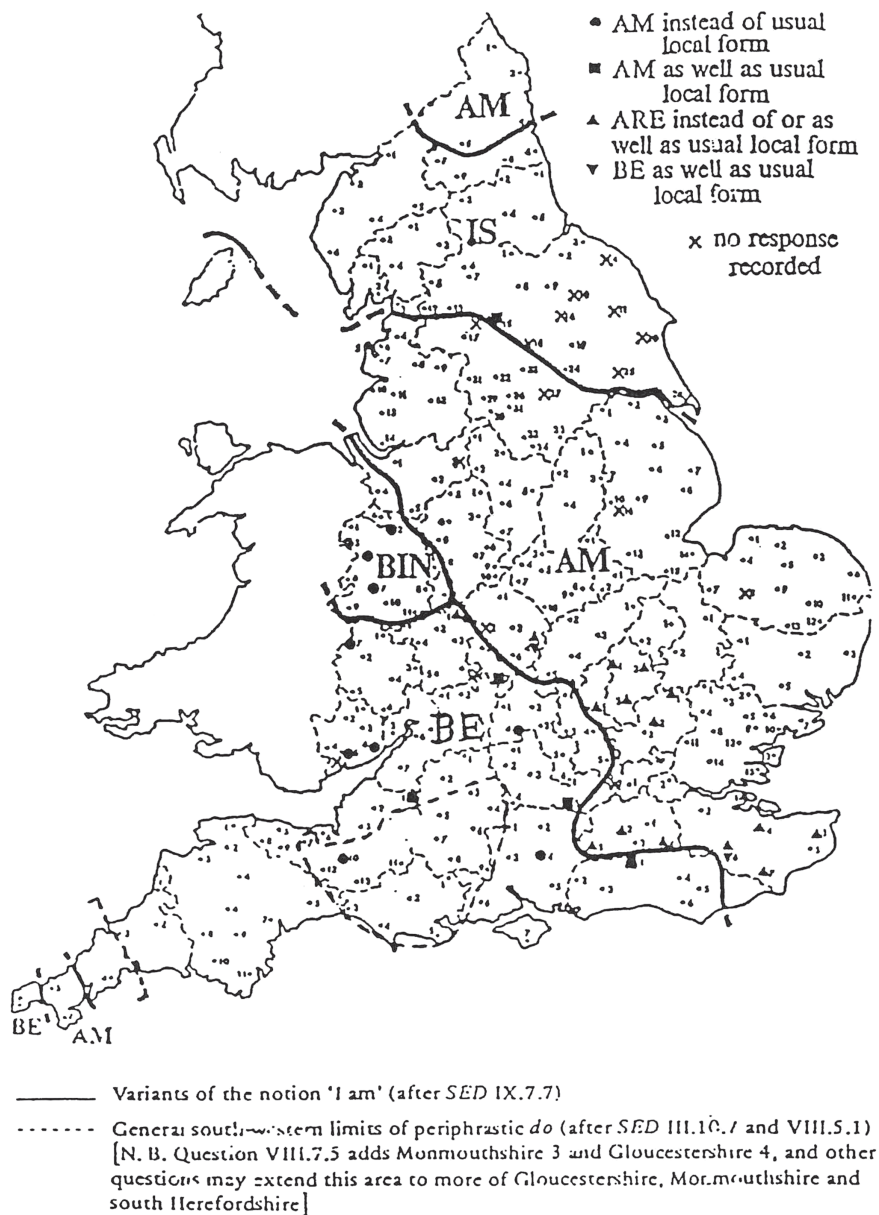
5) D4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern; D10 = n.WS. = northern West Southern

In D4 and 10 the periphrastic form, as *I do love*, without any intention of emphasis, is used for *I love* (p.834)

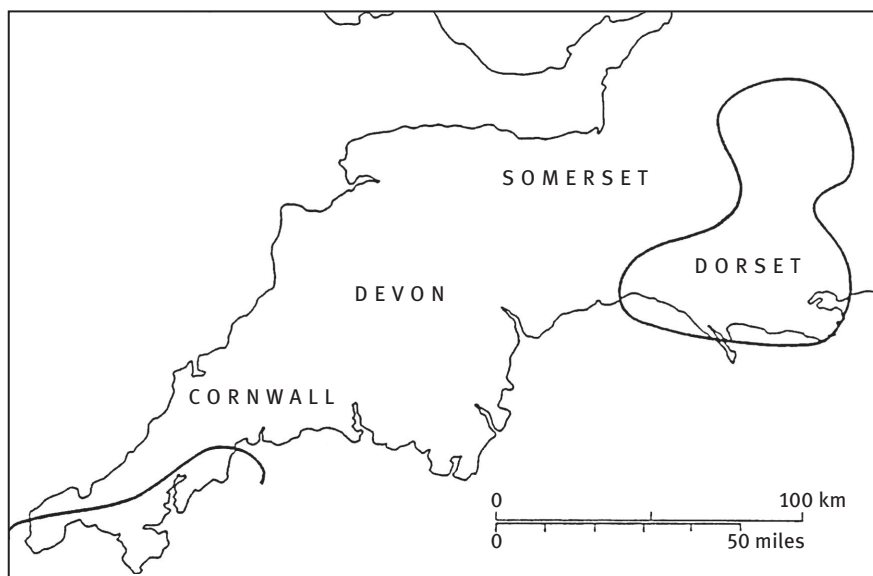
It must be borne in mind, however, that the density of Ellis's network of localities varies from one area to another and that the reliability of his descriptions is dependent, to some extent, on the reliability of the information he received from his numerous correspondents. But even though Ellis's study can only give us a rough description of the area where DO-periphrasis was in use during the latter half of the nineteenth century, it nevertheless provides us with an invaluable reference point with which to compare the situation nearly a century later when the SED fieldwork was conducted.

In recent decades, attempts to determine the geographical distribution of do-periphrasis have been made by Wakelin (1977, 1983, 1984a) (see Maps 2 and 3) and Rogers (1979) (see Map 4).⁴ Both Wakelin's and Rogers's discussions are based on the published SED Basic Material. It is thus rather surprising that not only do

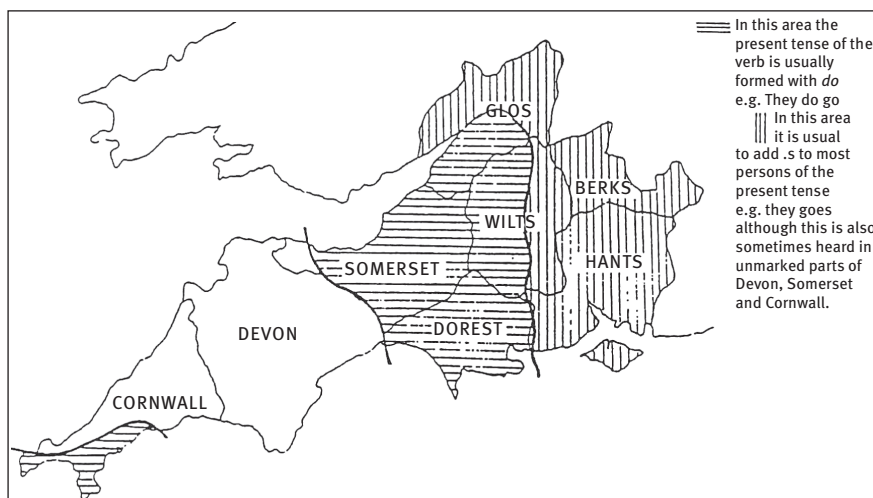
⁴ Wakelin (1977: 120–121) does not include a map but does provide a detailed description of the geographical distribution, cf. below.



Map 2: Periphrastic *do* in South-West of England (Wakelin 1983: 8).



Map 3: Periphrastic *do* in the South-West of England (Wakelin 1984a: 83).



Map 4: Periphrastic *do* in South-West of England (Rogers 1979: 39).

Wakelin's and Rogers's delimitations differ considerably, but that Wakelin's three delimitations of the use of *do*-periphrasis are also all different from each other. The explanation for these discrepancies lies with Wakelin's limited use of the available data: Wakelin (1977: 120–21) states that “the present distribution is a rather

curious one – one area round the Severn comprising localities in Mon and Gl, one very small area in central and west Co, and a third, larger, area comprising parts of W, Do, and So.” This statement is echoed also in Wakelin (1986: 36–38): “The uses of the vb. *do* (in pr. and p.t.), when unstr., are extended in two small SW areas (plus one in Monmouthshire and Gloucs/Avon, which, however, includes Bristol) – central and W. Cornwall and parts of Wilts, Dorset and their environs – to introduce a simple inf.: *I d’ know, they d’ go*, etc.” However, this can be explained by the fact that the delimitation of DO-periphrasis in Wakelin (1977) is based on the answers to *SED* question VIII.75; Wakelin’s (1983) map (see Map 2) is based on the answers to *SED* III.10.7 and VIII.5.1; whereas Wakelin (1984a) (see Map 3) is based on the answers to *SED* question VIII.5.1 only.⁵ However, there is considerably more evidence of periphrastic DO in the *SED* Basic Material than Wakelin’s various discussions of DO indicate. There are altogether 13 questions in the *SED* Basic Material that contain information about the use of periphrastic DO. Thus it is surprising that Wakelin’s delimitations of DO use are based on answers to only a couple of *SED* periphrastic DO questions instead of all thirteen. Rogers (1979) (see Map 4) does not provide a list of the *SED* questions his map is based on, but his DO-area is considerably larger than any of Wakelin’s maps, and we might suppose that Rogers has used a larger subset of the 13 *SED* questions that provide data on the use of periphrastic DO for his map than Wakelin.

3 The geographical distribution of periphrastic do in traditional dialects

As the comparison of the delimitations of the use of periphrastic DO found in Wakelin (1977, 1983, 1984a) and in Rogers (1979) indicates, the matter of the geographical distribution of DO-use has not been discussed satisfactorily in the existing literature on traditional dialects in the South-West of England. Thus it is necessary to turn again to the *SED* Basic Material to see how much information we can get out of that dialect survey. A careful study of the *SED* Basic Materials

⁵ Wakelin considers periphrastic DO to have been more widespread in the past: “The uses of the verb *do* – in reduced or unstressed form – are extended in some (now very isolated) south-western dialects to introduce a simple infinitive: *I d’ know, they d’ go*, etc. [...], and it may well be that the areas shown on the map were once part of a single, larger area bounded by Watling Street” (Wakelin 1983: 9). [Emphasis mine – JK.]

indicates that information about the use of periphrastic DO can be found in the answers to the following 13 *SED* questionnaire items:⁶

- III.3.7 (If I didn't know what a *cowman* is, you would tell me: He is the man **that** looks after the cows.)
- III.10.7 (Now let's have it all together. **Bulls bellow** etc.)
- IV.6.2 (Some people have a shed and a wire-netting run at the bottom of their garden in which they **keep hens**.)
- VI.14.2 (Your wife, when for the first time she wears a nice new hat that goes well, likes to hear you say: My word! It **suits you**.)
- VI.14.14 (You say of a woman who rules her husband: **She wears the breeches**.)
- VIII.1.9 (Look at their faces now. Don't you think this boy **resembles** his grandfather?)
- VIII.5.1 (What do good people do on Sunday? **They go to church**.)
- VIII.5.2 (But some lazy people like to read the Sunday papers, and so they **stay at home**.)
- VIII.6.2 (There are two times in the day that every schoolboy knows. One is about 9 in the morning, when school **begins**, and the other is about 4 o'clock when school **finishes**.)
- VIII.7.5 (What do burglars do? They break into houses and **steal**. So you can say: We ordinary people buy the things we need, but **burglars steal them**.)
- IX.3.6 (A tailor is a man who **makes suits**.)
- IX.3.7 (In fact, she never misses any chance; every chance she gets, she **takes**.)
- IX.3.9 (Last year it was astonishing how quickly they [potatoes] **grew**.)

The geographical distribution of periphrastic DO, based on the answers to the above-listed 13 *SED* questions, is given in Map 5.⁷ When Map 5 is compared with Maps 2,

⁶ In the following, I have first given the number of the *SED* questionnaire item and then also included in brackets the item in the form that it is given in the Dieth-Orton questionnaire (Dieth and Orton 1952).

⁷ Periphrastic DO –forms are found in the following *SED* localities in the *Basic Material*:

III.3.7: 15 He 6; 23 Mon 4,6,7; 31 So 1,4,6,11,13; 32 W 1,7; 36 Co 7; 38 Do 1,2,3,4

III.10.7: 31 So 7,11,12,13; 32 W 3,4,5,6,7,8,9; 36 Co 4,5,6,7; 38 Do 1,2,3,4,5

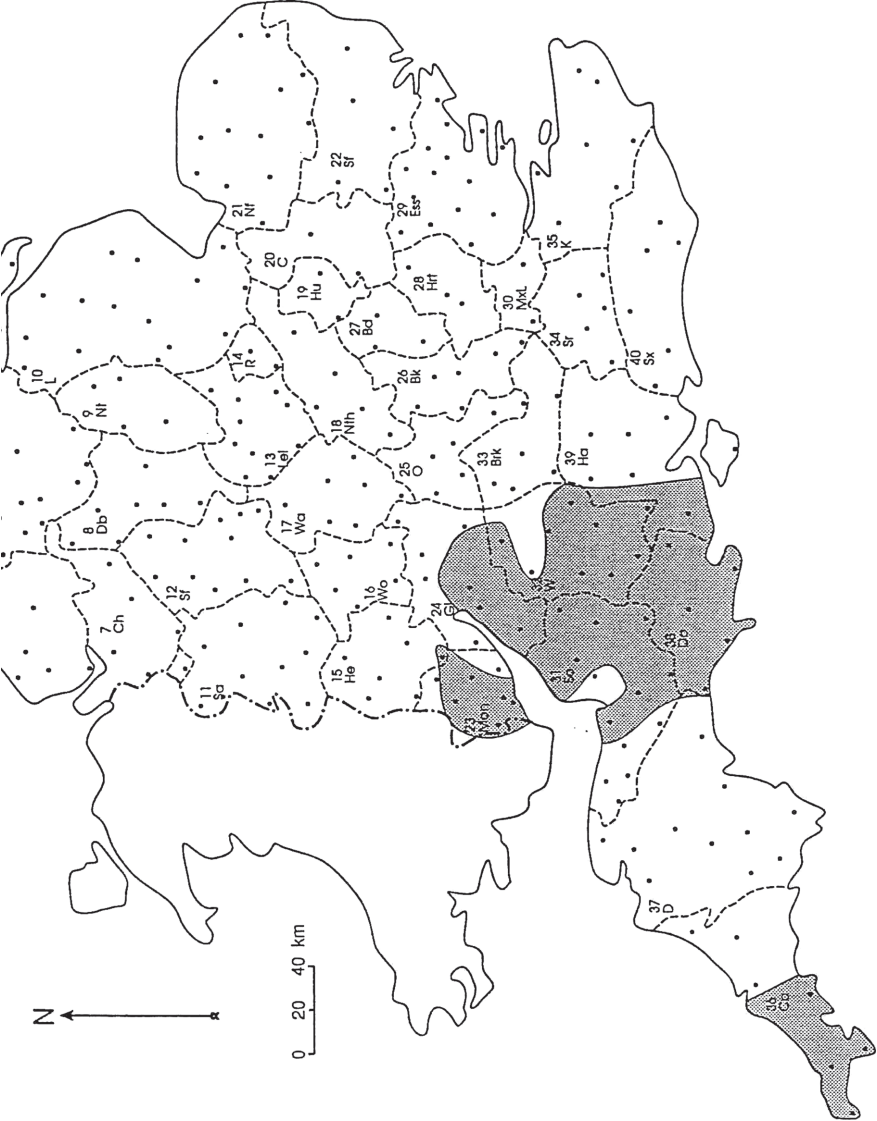
IV.6.2: 23 Mon 4,5; 31 So 4; 32 W 9; 36 Co 4,7; 38 Do 1,2,3,4

VI.14.2: 24 Gl 7; 32 W 8; 38 Do 3,4

VI.14.14: 23 Mon 4; 31 So 2,4,10; 32 W 8; 36 Co 4,6; 38 Do 2,3,4,5

VIII.1.9: 31 So 4; 36 Co 6,7; 38 Do 2,4,5

VIII.5.1: 23 Mon 4,5; 31 So 4; 32 W 5,8; 36 Co 4,6,7; 38 Do 3,4,5



Map 5: Periphrastic DO in the published *SED* Basic Material.

3 and 4 above, it can immediately be seen that Rogers's map (Map 4) covers almost the same area as my Map 5. The main difference between my Map 5 and Rogers's map (Map 4) is Rogers's omission of Monmouthshire and East Wiltshire localities. Wakelin's two maps (Maps 2 and 3), however, cover a significantly smaller area than my Map 5, which is based on a comprehensive survey of the *SED* Basic Material.

Periphrastic do in the SED fieldworkers' notebooks

It has often been noted that the *SED* questionnaire was not planned within any coherent or comprehensive framework of grammar (see. e.g. Ihalainen & Klemola 1993). Thus the *SED* Basic Material is not ideally suited even for determining the geographical distribution of such grammatical features as the use of periphrastic *do*. The unpublished *SED* fieldworker notebooks, although they naturally do not overcome the problem of the lack of a coherent grammatical framework, are still extremely valuable in attempting to determine the geographical distribution of grammatical features in traditional dialects.

For the purposes of determining the geographical distribution of the use of periphrastic *do* I collected every instance of periphrastic *do* found in the *SED* notebooks from the following counties:

Shropshire (11 Sa)
 Herefordshire (15 He)
 Worcestershire (16 Wo)
 Warwickshire (17 Wa)
 Monmouthshire (23 Mon)
 Gloucestershire (24 Gl)
 Oxfordshire (25 O)
 Somerset (31 So)
 Wiltshire (32 W)
 Berkshire (33 Brk)
 Cornwall (36 Co)
 Devon (37 D)
 Dorset (38 Do)
 Hampshire (39 Ha)

VIII.5.2: 23 Mon 4; 36 Co 4,5; 38 Do 2,3,4

VIII.6.2: 23 Mon 3; 24 Gl 6; 31 So 7; 36 Co 7; 38 Do 2,3,5

VIII.7.5: 23 Mon 3; 24 Gl 4; 31 So 7,11; 32 W 1,5,8; 36 Co 4,6,7; 38 Do 1,3,4,5

IX.3.6: 23 Mon 2,4; 31 So 4,7; 32 W 1,7,8; 36 Co 4,6,7; 38 Do 2,3,4,5; 39 Ha 6

IX.3.7: 31 So 7; 32 W 1,5,8; 36 Co 4,5,6,7; 38 Do 1,2,3,4,5; 39 Ha 6

IX.3.9: 7 Ch 2; 18 Nth 2; 21 Nf 11; 23 Mon 3; 31 So 4,7; 39 Ha 6

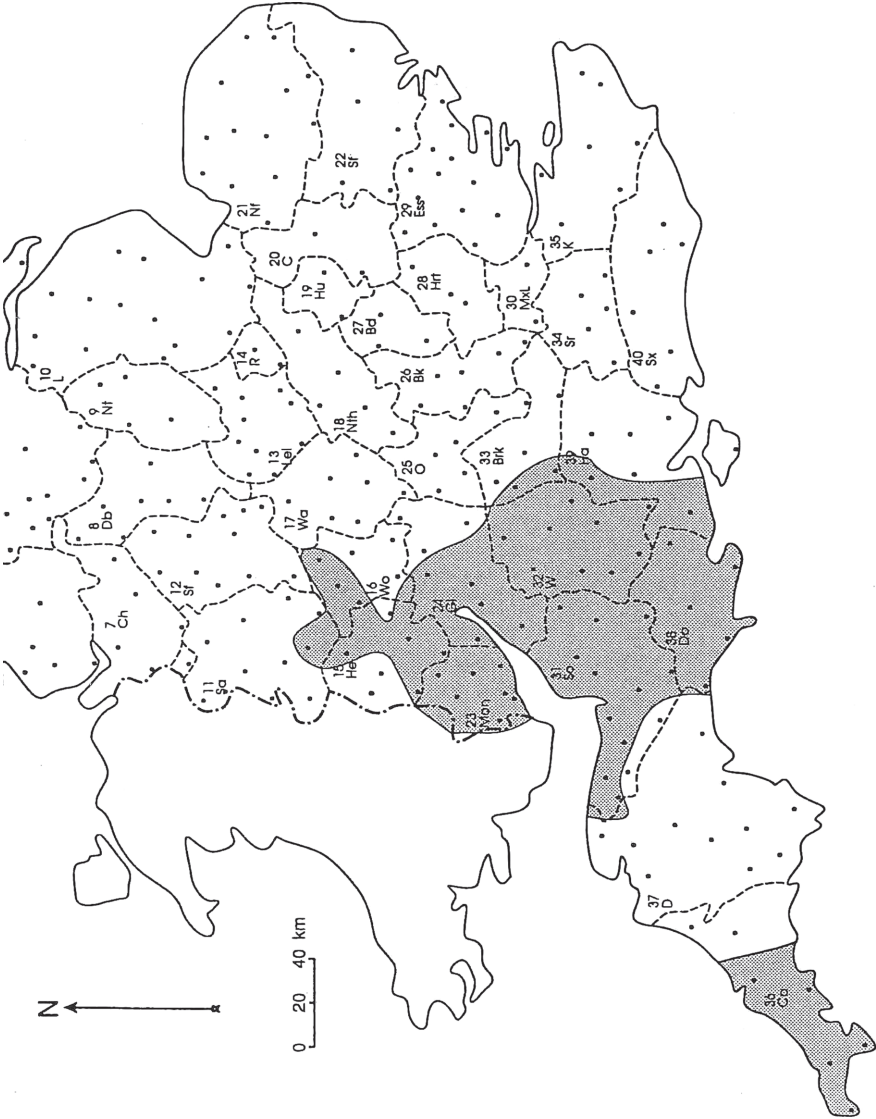
NB. The answers to the *SED* IX.3.9 also include *did* forms in 7 Ch 2, 18 Nth 2, and 21 Nf 11. These have not been included in Map 5, as they are likely to be emphatic forms rather than instances of unemphatic periphrastic *do*.

The search of the *SED* fieldworker notebooks yielded a corpus of 571 instances of periphrastic *DO* (*do* 487 instances; *did* 84 instances). The distribution of periphrastic *DO*, determined on the basis of the *SED* incidental material, is shown in Map 6. The area Map 6 covers is significantly larger than the distributions given in the previous maps, especially in the north and east. The fact that the western limit of the use of periphrastic *DO* in Map 6 coincides with the border between England and Wales in Monmouthshire should not be taken to imply that *DO*-periphrasis would not be found in Wales. In fact, as Parry (1977: 161–162) and Thomas (1985: 214) make clear, the use of periphrastic *DO* is very common in South-East Wales. The reason this fact is not shown in my Map 6 is simply that the Survey of English Dialects did not cover Welsh localities. Strictly speaking, of course, Monmouthshire, which at the time the *SED* was conducted was an English county, should, according to the post-1974 county boundaries, be called Gwent, and listed as a Welsh county.

In a way, it is not surprising that the *SED* incidental material should show a wider distribution of the use of periphrastic *DO* than the published Basic Material would lead us to believe. The formal nature of the questionnaire interview situation probably did not encourage the use of features such as periphrastic *DO*, whereas the incidental material contains utterances that the fieldworkers picked up from their more informal conversations with the informants. It must also be pointed out that the possibility of fieldworker isoglosses cannot be ruled out altogether even in the case of periphrastic *DO* (cf. Trudgill's (1983: 38–41) discussion of phonetic *SED* fieldworker isoglosses in East Anglia). The total number of fieldworkers employed by the *SED* project was 11, and the notetaking practice of the fieldworkers was variable – this can be clearly detected in the notebooks. It does not seem likely, however, that the problem of field-worker isoglosses could be as serious when dealing with grammatical data as it may be in the case of phonetic data. A further point to bear in mind is that, in fact, only 13 of the 1322 questions in the *SED* questionnaire managed to elicit instances of periphrastic *DO*, and out of these 13 questions, only seven (III.10.7; IV.6.2; VIII.5.1; VIII.7.5; IX.3.6; IX.3.7; IX.3.9) were explicitly designed to elicit information about verb morphology or syntax.

Map 6 shows a rather surprising gap in the distribution of periphrastic *DO* in Devon and East Cornwall. It is remarkable that periphrastic *DO* is not used at all in the dialects of Devon and East Cornwall that otherwise are in many respects very conservative, showing, for example, widespread voicing of initial fricatives and traces of the old *-eth* ending in verbs.⁸ The reason why periphrastic *DO* should not

⁸ The fact that unstressed periphrastic *DO* is not found in Devon had already been noticed by Barnes (1886: 23).



Map 6: Geographical distribution of periphrastic *do* in the *SED* fieldworker notebooks.

be used in these areas which, on the whole, are linguistically very conservative, is not immediately clear. Ihalainen (1991) is likewise puzzled by the non-use of periphrastic *DO* in Devon and East Cornwall. He phrases his bafflement in the following manner:

Periphrastic *do* reappears in western Cornwall, so that Devon forms a *do*-less island in the west. For the time being I have no convincing explanation for this interesting gap in an area that is in many other respects quite uniform linguistically. It will not do to say that Devon is innovative, because it can be shown that in many ways, for example as regards the use of invariant *be*, Devon is far more conservative than Somerset. (Ihalainen 1991: 298.)

One possible explanation might be to consider *DO* historically as an innovation that originated somewhere in the West Wiltshire/East Somerset area and spread from there. The roundish shape of the isogloss on the map would support the interpretation that West Wiltshire/East Somerset form the focal area of periphrastic *DO* usage, and, indeed, in the light of historical documents, periphrastic *DO* seems to have originated in just this area. According to Ellegård (1953: 164), ‘the origin of the *DO*-construction [...] has to be sought in the Central and Western parts of the South, from where it spread eastwards and northwards’.⁹

In this scenario the absence of periphrastic *DO* from Devon and East Cornwall would be explained by assuming that, because of the succession of natural barriers formed by the river Parrett and the marshlands surrounding it in the Somerset Levels, the Quantock Hills, and the barren Exmoor in north-east Devon, the innovation never reached these areas.¹⁰ The reappearance of periphrastic *DO* in West Cornwall is due to the fact that Cornish was the dominant language in the westernmost areas of Cornwall until c. 1500, and that Cornish only gradually died out during the period 1500–1700 (Wakelin 1975: 203). Thus the English language was introduced into the western parts of Cornwall as late as the early Modern English period (1500–1700). It is for this reason that the English language spoken in West Cornwall is in many ways closer to early (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)

⁹ Poussa (1990) argues that the rise of periphrastic *DO* in the spoken language took place during the OE period as a result of the Celtic-Germanic contacts in the South-West of England. She also states that “in my interpretation [...] the most conservative rural dialects of the Somerset area represent the lowest lects in the remains of a post-creole continuum extending both west and east, though the eastern dialect continuum is far older” (Poussa 1990: 420). Without passing a judgement on Poussa’s contact-universals theory, it may be noted that the argument set forth here, that periphrastic *DO* originated in the area of East Somerset and West Wiltshire, would not contradict Poussa’s argument.

¹⁰ The isogloss which separates the *DO* area of Somerset from the non-*DO* area of Devon falls on a major and long-established dialect boundary between Somerset and Devon (cf. Klemola 1994).

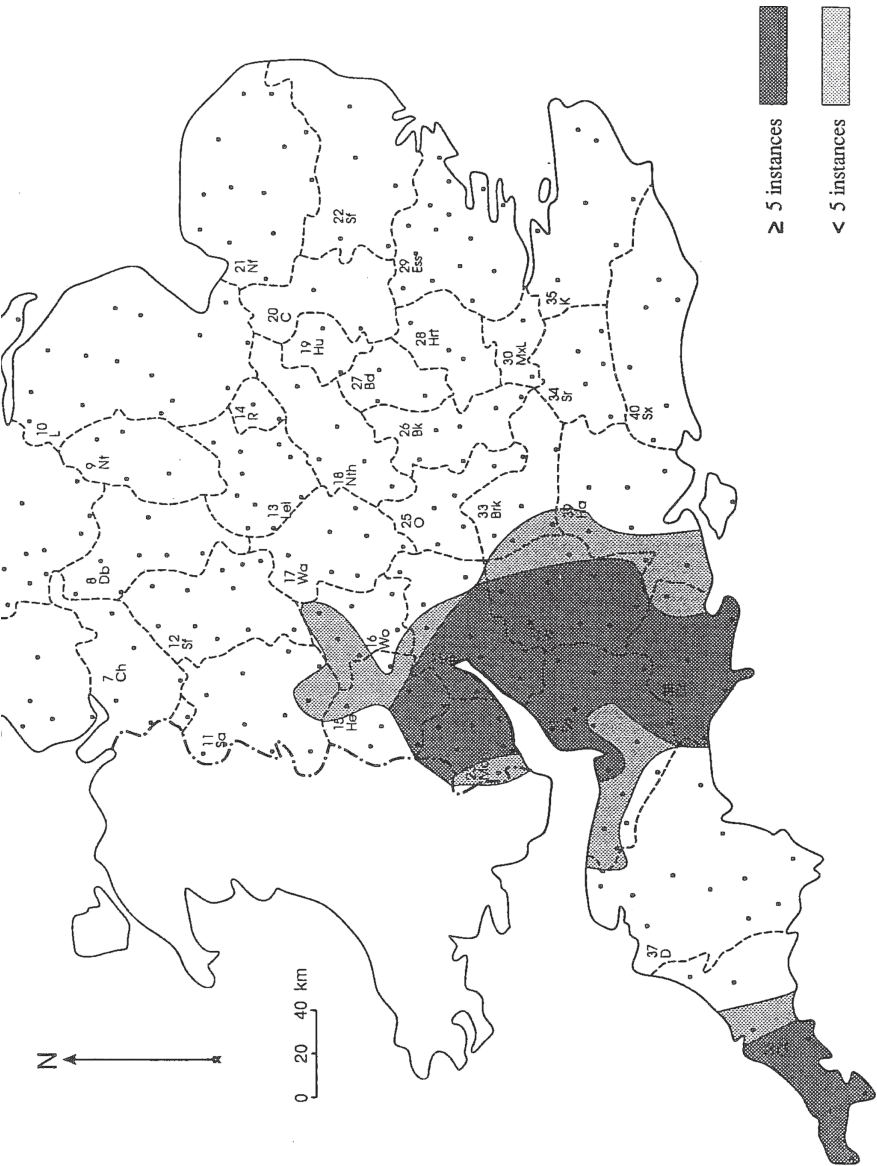
Standard English usage than to the surrounding dialects.¹¹ Periphrastic *DO* in the westernmost parts of Cornwall most probably stems from the early Modern English “Standard” language rather than from the dialectal periphrastic *DO* found in other parts of the South-West of England. Thus the periphrastic *DO* form in West Cornwall is most probably introduced through education, as a part of the process described by Wakelin (1975: 100) in the following terms:

... the English language in west Cornwall was introduced under the influence of education: speakers of Cornish in the Modern Cornish period would learn not the ancient Wessex dialects of east Cornwall, Devon and Somerset (although these nevertheless probably had some influence), but a version of English taught them in schools and by the upper classes and better-educated (note that it was the gentry who gave up Cornish and spoke English first), an English deliberately acquired, as distinct from a regional dialect passed on from generation to generation.

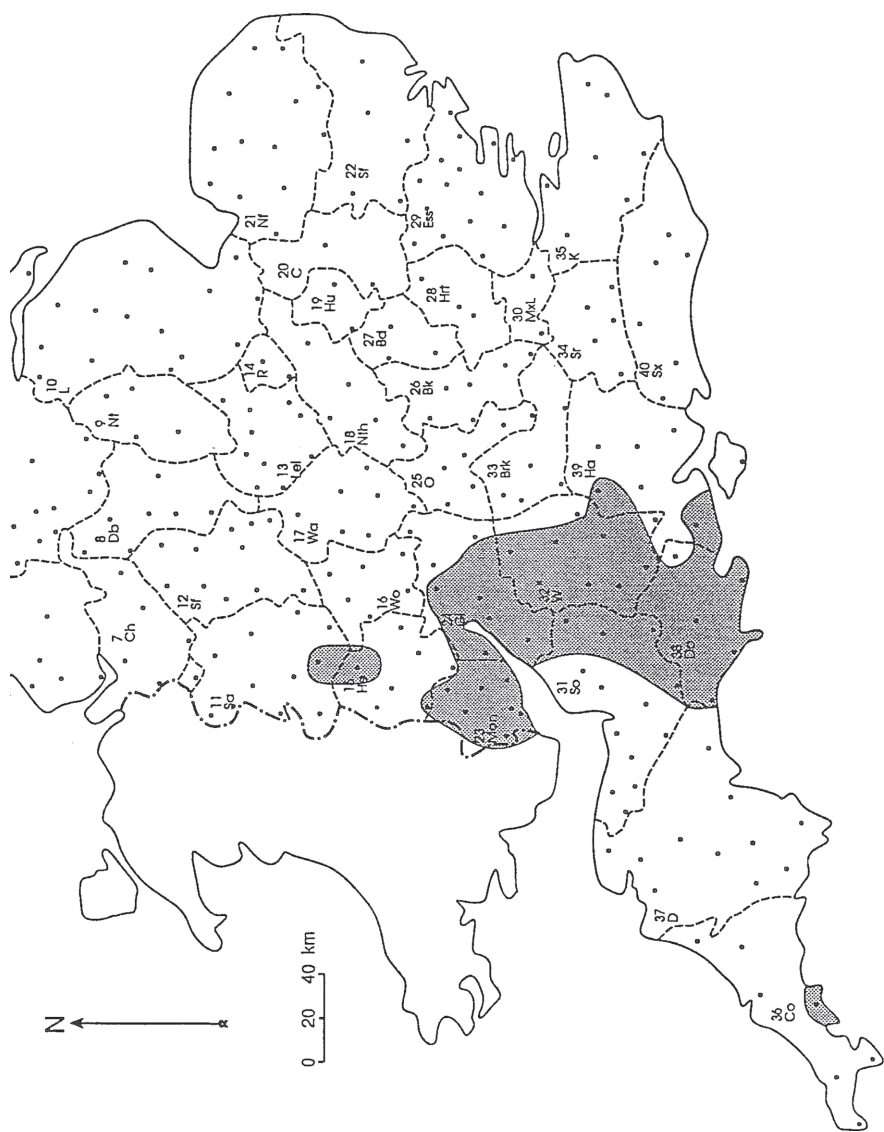
Although the notebook data are not collected systematically enough to allow for any proper quantification, the data do seem to reflect the core and peripheral areas of *DO*-periphrasis use. Map 7 shows the areas where five or more examples of periphrastic *DO* were recorded in the notebooks (West Cornwall, Dorset, East Somerset, West Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire). I consider these areas to form the core area of the use of periphrastic *DO*. Map 7 also includes the areas where fewer than five examples of periphrastic *DO* were recorded in the notebooks (Central Cornwall, West Somerset, East Wiltshire, West Hampshire and parts of Herefordshire). I regard these as more peripheral areas of the use of periphrastic *DO*.

In the discussion so far, the present and past tense forms of periphrastic *DO* have not been distinguished, on the assumption that no significant difference would exist between the use of periphrastic *do* and periphrastic *did*. The numbers of examples in the *SED* incidental material (*do* 487 examples, *did* 84 examples) probably only indicate that present tense forms are more likely to be used in a face-to-face interview situation, and not any difference between the use of *do* and *did* forms. However, when the instances of periphrastic *did* are mapped separately, an interesting distribution appears (see Map 8). The occurrences of periphrastic *did* would seem to correspond fairly well with the core areas of the use

¹¹ Wakelin (1975: 203) characterises the traditional dialects in western Cornwall as follows: “Many of the phonological types present here have been considered to be old Standard English ones, introduced in the early MnE period, and replacing other older (Cornish and English) forms of speech. This area is also the one in which morphological forms are more conformed to those of Standard English usage, and in which Cornish words are still found.” See also Wakelin (1975: 100, 1984b: 195).



Map 7: Core and peripheral areas of periphrastic *do* (SED notebooks).



Map 8: Periphrastic *did* in the *SED* fieldworker notebooks.

of *DO*-periphrasis, with the exception of Cornwall, where only two instances of periphrastic *did* were recorded, both in St Ewe (36 Co4). In other words, as a rule, no occurrences of periphrastic *did* were recorded in the areas that are marked as peripheral on Map 7. This may indicate that the change from the periphrastic use of *DO* towards the standard English-type tense marking started in past tense environments.

The distribution of periphrastic *did* forms gives some indication that only present tense forms of periphrastic *DO* are used in West Cornwall, especially when we take into consideration the fact that the *SED* incidental material includes a fairly large number of examples of present tense forms of periphrastic *DO* from West Cornwall: St Ewe (36 Co4) 35 instances; Gwinear (36 Co5) 41 instances; St Buryan (36 Co6) 26 instances; Mullion (36 Co7) 22 instances. In fact these represent the highest numbers of instances of periphrastic *do* recorded in the *SED* notebooks, except for Whitchurch Canoniconum (38 Do3), where 27 instances of periphrastic *do* were recorded. This means that the usage in West Cornwall would in this respect be similar to the Irish English usage; in Irish English the use of periphrastic *DO* is also limited to the present tense periphrastic *do* (c.f. e.g. Bliss 1972: 80).¹²

4 Periphrastic *DO* in Wales

The data on the geographical distribution of periphrastic *DO* in Welsh English come from Parry's (1977, 1979) *The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects (SAWD)*. This survey, which is based on the *SED* questionnaire, provides detailed data on lexical and phonological features of the southern dialects of Welsh English. Unfortunately, however, the grammatical information offered by Parry's survey is

¹² This observation is interesting from the point of view of the possible substratal influence from the Celtic languages both in Irish English and in Cornish English. It is generally assumed that the formative period of both Irish English and the English spoken in the west of Cornwall fell during the early Modern English period (1500–1700). The lack of past tense forms of periphrastic *DO* in these varieties, in distinction to the usage both in early Modern Standard English and the dialects spoken in the South-West of England, could be seen to be due to reinforcement from the Celtic substratum – the existence of a distinct Present Habitual form *bíonn* ('is wont to be') of the substantive verb *bí* 'be' in Irish may have acted as a reinforcing factor for the Irish English *do be* construction and the *do + V* construction (see Ó Siadhail 1989: 177–178 for a discussion of the semantics of the substantive verb in Irish). The possibility of reinforcing substratal influence is made more probable by the lack of the past tense form of periphrastic *DO* in these two non-adjointing varieties of English. For the possibility of Celtic influence on the origin of *DO* in English, see further van der Auwera & Genée (2002) and McWhorter (2009).

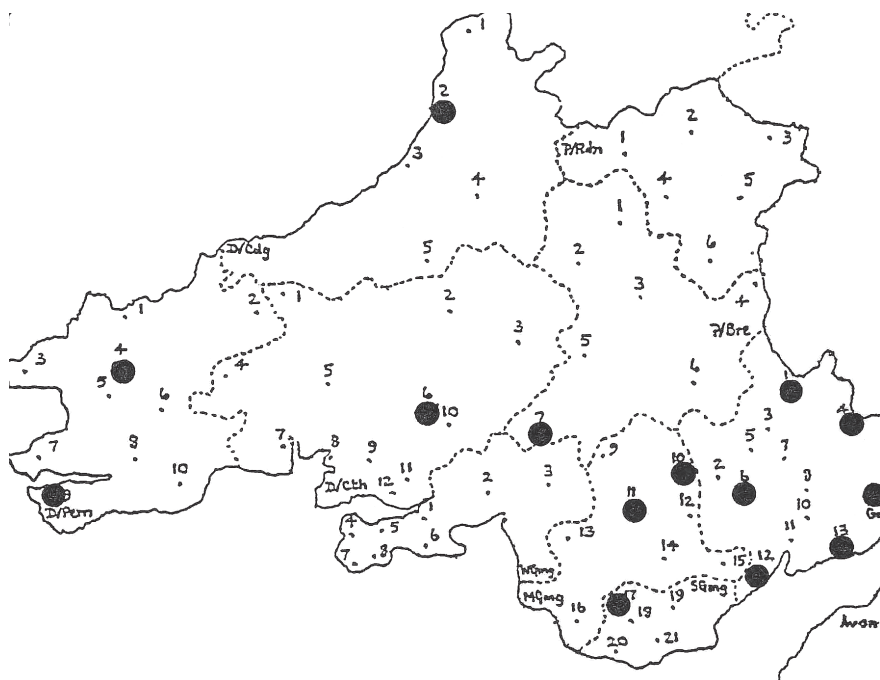
very patchy (cf. Thomas 1985: 214), and it is therefore not very easy to determine the geographical distribution of periphrastic DO in Welsh English in any detail from it. Parry (1977: 161–162) lists the following examples of periphrastic DO from South-East Wales:

She do wear the trousers	Gw 1,4,6,9,12; MGmg 11; SGmg 17
They do keep hens	P/Bre 7; MGmg 10,11
They do go to Chapel/Church	Gw 9, 12, 13

And Parry (1979: 148, 153) lists the following examples from South-West Wales:

We do collect different fruits	D/Cdg 2
You do watch	D/Pem 4
We do call it	D/Pem 9
The cows do graze in the fields	D/Pem 9
did grow	D/Cth 6

Just how patchy the data on periphrastic DO in Parry (1977, 1979) are, becomes apparent when the above instances of periphrastic DO are presented on a map. Map 9 shows the instances of periphrastic DO found in the *SAWD*.



Map 9: Periphrastic DO in the *Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects* (base map from Parry 1979: viii).

On the basis of these patchy data Thomas (1985: 214–215) and Coupland & Thomas (1990: 5–6) have inferred a general distributional pattern of periphrastic *DO* usage in South Wales thus:

In the industrial areas of Gwent and Glamorgan [...] and the rural areas of Brecknock and east Radnor, the attested form is exclusively the one with *do*. It also occurs sporadically elsewhere, in Pembroke, Cardigan and west Radnor, but there the more frequent form is that with *be*. (Coupland & Thomas 1990: 5–6.)

Penhallurick (1993: 41–42) confirms that periphrastic *DO* is not used in the northern counties of Gwynedd and Clwyd. When these data on the distribution of periphrastic *DO* in Welsh English are combined with Map 6, which gives the distribution of this feature in England on the basis of all the available *SED* data, we arrive at a distribution of periphrastic *DO* in England and Wales shown on Map 10.¹³

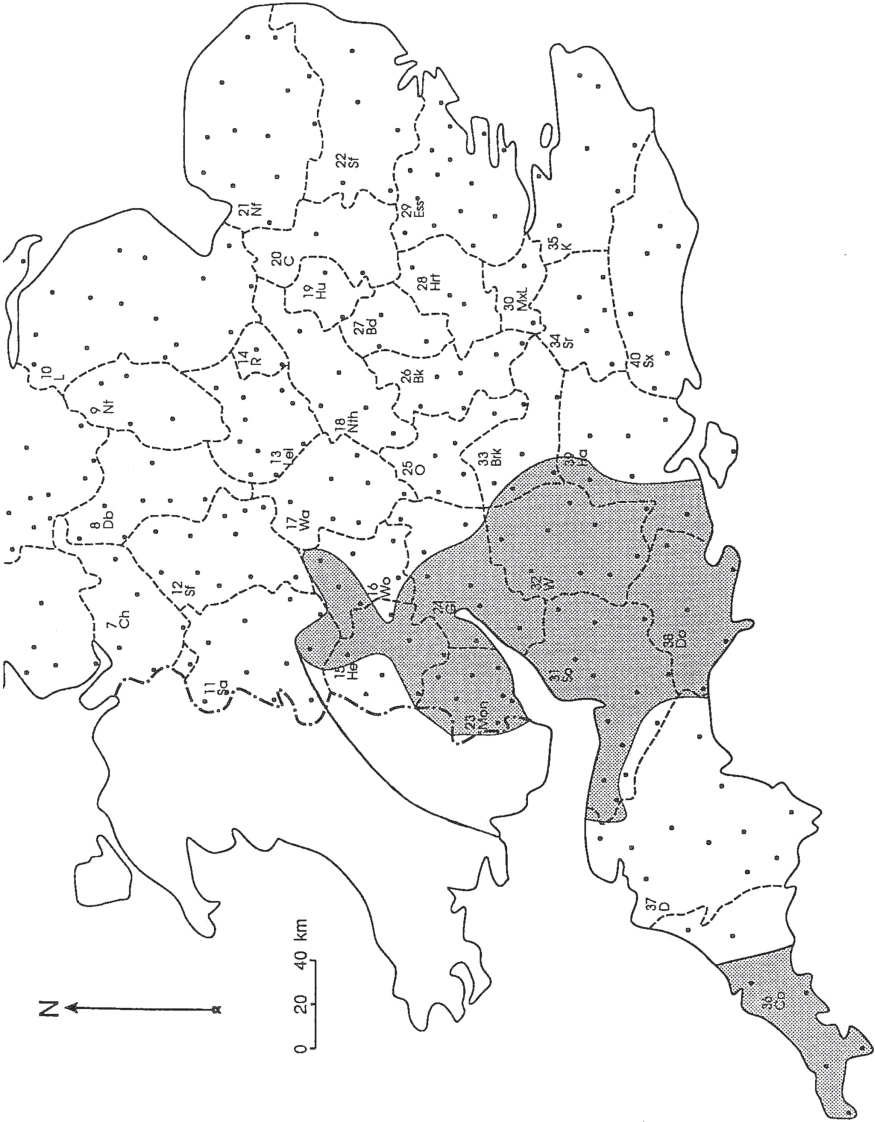
Thomas (1985: 214), and Coupland & Thomas (1990: 5) note that in Welsh English the following three present habitual constructions are possible:

He *goes* to the cinema every week: Inflected present
 He *do go* to the cinema every week: *do* + uninflected verb
 He's *going* to the cinema every week: Inflected *be* + inflected verb

They further point out that the non-standard second and third examples show a clear geographical distribution: periphrastic *DO* is used in the eastern areas of early bilingualism in Wales, and the *BE* + *ing* construction is favoured in the western areas of more recent bilingualism. Thomas (1985: 215) and Coupland & Thomas (1990: 6) also suggest that the sporadic instances of periphrastic *DO* in South-West Wales indicate that this feature is spreading westwards, but they do not present any independent evidence for this claim. Their claim that the *DO* pattern in Welsh English is historically connected with English dialects of the West Midlands [and South-West] seems plausible, however, when we examine the geographical distribution of periphrastic *DO* in England and Wales shown on Map 10.¹⁴ The *BE* + *ing* construction, on the other hand, is apparently a calque on the equivalent construction in Welsh, as Thomas (1985: 215) and Coupland and Thomas (1990: 6) also assume.

¹³ In Map 10 the west Herefordshire locality He2 (Weobley) has tacitly been included in the distribution of periphrastic *DO* although there is no direct evidence for the use of the feature in He2 in the *SED* records.

¹⁴ This observation, in fact, was first stated by David Parry in his Leeds M.A. thesis (Parry 1964). A discussion of periphrastic *DO* is found also in Parry (1972).



Map 10: Periphrastic do in England and Wales.

5 Periphrastic *do* vs. the generalised -s marker

The following quote from Elworthy (1886: xlv) provides an interesting perspective on the possible route of the linguistic change where the older construction with periphrastic *do* is replaced by the more “standard-like” -s inflection:

Another advance apparently connected with increasing instruction is the more common use of the inflection *us* in the intransitive and frequentative form of verbs instead of the periphrastic *do* with the inflected *pres. infin.*

I workus to factory, is now the usual form, whereas up to a recent period the same person would have said, *I do worky to factory*. An old under-gardener, speaking of different qualities of fuel for his use, said, *The stone coal lee-ustus (lasts) zo much longer, and gees morey it too* — i.e. does not burn so quickly — Feb. 2, 1888. He certainly would have said a few years ago — *The stone coal du lee-ustee (do lasty) zo much longer*. This form is also superseding the old form *eth*, which latter is now becoming rare in the Vale of West Somerset.

Elworthy made the observation that when speakers change their grammar and drop the rule which allows the use of unstressed periphrastic *do* in affirmative declarative sentences, they do not switch directly to the standard English rule, where only 3rd person singular forms receive the inflectional ending -s. Rather, they seem to generalise the present tense marker -s to all persons, both in singular and in plural.¹⁵ This use of the inflectional ending -s resembles the so-called northern subject rule (for a discussion, see Ihalainen (1994: 221–222)). The difference is that whereas in the northern dialects present tense verbs take the ending -s only in those cases where the verb is not immediately preceded by a personal pronoun subject, as in *Birds sings*, but *They peel them and boils them*, south-western dialects do not follow this restriction and thus the -s marker occurs both in sentences with a pronominal or non-adjacent subject and sentences with a full noun phrase subject, as in the following examples *They peels them* and *Farmers makes them*. In other words, the form of the subject (full NP vs. personal pronoun) does not affect the -s marking of the verb in the south-western dialects in a way that it does in the northern dialects.

Unfortunately it is not possible, on the basis of synchronic interview data, to detect directly the grammatical change that Elworthy observed. However, there is another way of getting evidence, albeit indirect, for the possibility that the change from the use of periphrastic *do* to the generalised -s marker that Elworthy reports has really taken place. This evidence is provided by the geographical

¹⁵ The generalised -s marker cannot be properly characterised as an agreement marker anymore, since it does not serve to signal any information about the characteristics of the subject. It appears to serve the function of marking the present tense rather than any agreement features.

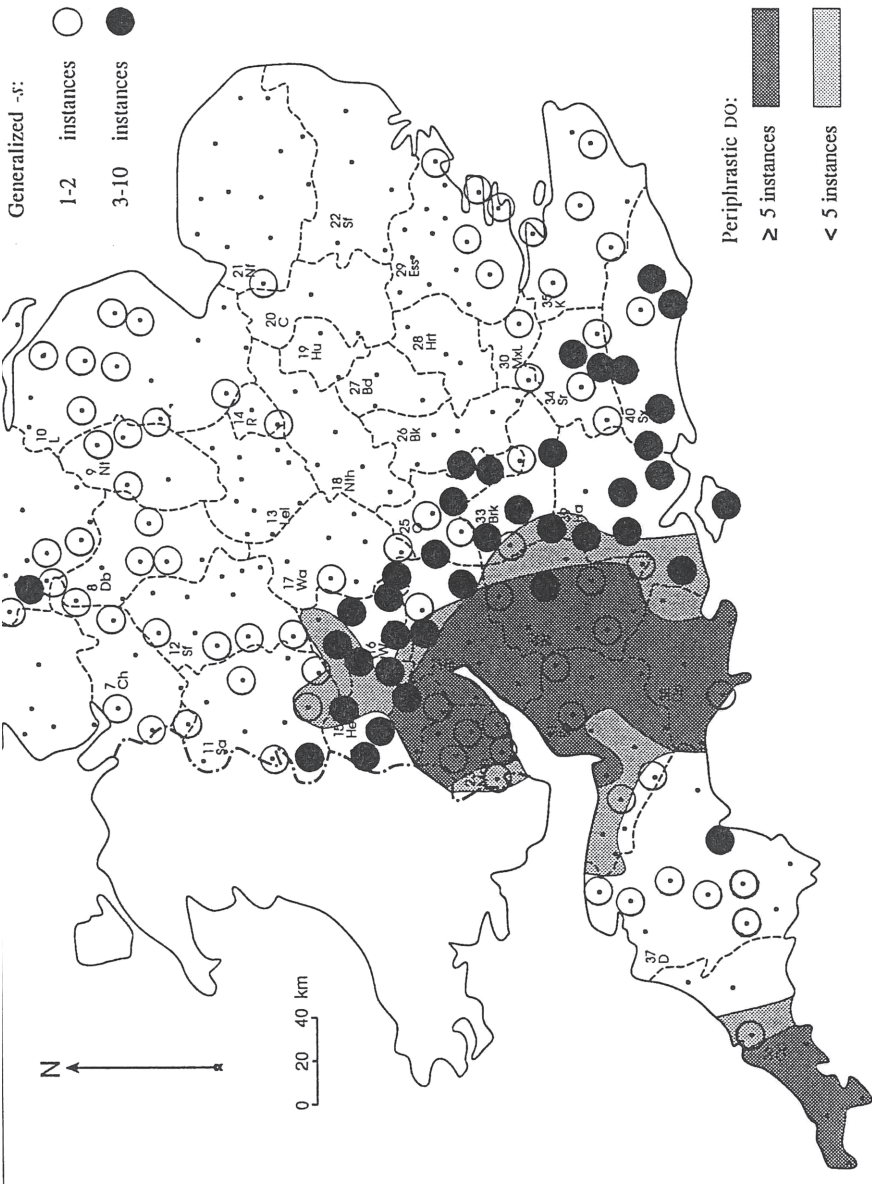
distribution of the two alternative forms. To get an idea of the geographical distribution of the generalised -s marker in traditional dialects in England, I have mapped the responses to the following *SED* questions (with pronominal subjects) that provide information on the distribution of the generalised -s marker (to avoid confusion with the northern subject rule-construction, I have excluded questions III.10.7 (*Bulls bellow*), and VIII.7.5 (*Burglars steal them*) which contain a full NP in the subject position from the list below; the answers to these two questions are mapped separately in Map 10):

- IV.6.2 (Some people have a shed and a wire-netting run at the bottom of their garden in which they **keep hens**.)
 V.2.12 (How do you see in this room when it gets dark? **We put the light on**.)
 V.7.7 (If you see that your gravy is too thin, what do you do to it? **To thicken it**.)
 VI.2.8 (When two little girls get cross with each other, what do they often do? They [i.] **pull each other's** hair.)
 VI.3.2 (What do we do with them? **To see**.)
 VI.4.2 (What do we do with them? **To hear**.)
 VI.5.11 (When I have an apple, I [i.] **eat it**.)
 VIII.5.1 (What do good people do on Sunday? **They go to church**.)
 VIII.5.2 (But some lazy people like to read the Sunday papers, and so they **stay at home**.)
 IX.1.9 (To please the children, I often go down on hands and knees and **creep**.)

The geographical distribution of the answers to these ten *SED* questionnaire items are given on Map 11a.¹⁶ For ease of comparison, Map 7, which indicates the

¹⁶ Generalised -s -forms are found in the following *SED* localities in the *Basic Material* (Square brackets around a locality indicate that the answer to the question does not include an -s form, but the *Incidental Material* listed under this question does contain a generalised -s form.):

- IV.6.2: 3 Du 5; 11 Sa 9,10; 15 He 1,3,4,7; 16 Wo 2,4,5,6; 23 Mon 6; 24 Gl [1]; 25 O 5; 32 W 1,3; 33 Brk 1,3,5; 34 Sr [1,4]; 38 Do [4]; 39 Ha [5],6,7; 40 Sx [1,2]
 V.2.12: 6 Y [24]; 15 He 1,2,3,4,7; 16 Wo 4,5,6; 23 Mon 2,3,6; 24 Gl 1; 31 So 12; 33 Brk [4]
 V.7.7: 1 Nb [1]; 7 Ch [1,2,6]; 9Nt [1,2]; 10 L [3,4,5,7,8,13]; 11 Sa [5,6,9,11]; 12 St [5,8,11]; 13 Lei [1]; 15 He [1,2,3,4,7]; 16 Wo [3,4,6,7]; 17 Wa [7]; 21 Nf [7]; 23 Mon [4]; 24 Gl [1,5]; 25 O [1,2,3,4,5]; 26 Bk [3]; 29 Ess [12,13]; 32 W [3]; 33 Brk [1,2,3]; 34 Sr [1,2,3]; 35 K [2,5,6]; 37 D [4,6,7,9]; 39 Ha [1,2,4,5,7]; 40 Sx [1,2,3,5,6]
 VI.2.8: 5 La 6; 8 Db [4,6]; 10 L [8,14]; 16 Wo 2; 25 O 5; 26 Bk [3]; 15 He [7]; 39 Ha 7; 40 Sx [3]
 VI.3.2: 5 La [4,6,9]; 6 Y [7,8,23]; 11 Sa [9]; 15 He [3,7]; 16 Wo [3,4,6]; 33 Brk [1]; 37 D [7]; 39 Ha 3,[7]; 40 Sx [1,2]
 VI.4.2: 33 Brk [1,4]; 39 Ha 1,[6]; 25 O 1,[3,6]



Map 11a: Generalised -s vs. periphrastic *do* (South-West of England).

core and peripheral areas of *do*-usage in the south-western dialects, has been chosen as the base map for Map 11a. In an attempt at a rough quantification of the data, I have included separate symbols for those localities where answers to only one or two *SED* questionnaire items included the generalised -s marker, and those localities where answers to between three and ten *SED* questionnaire items contained the -s form.

Map 11a gives a very good picture of the geographical distribution of the generalised -s marker in relation to periphrastic *do* in affirmative declarative sentences. The two constructions (periphrastic *do* and generalised -s) are in almost total complementary distribution: very few -s forms are recorded in the area where periphrastic *do* is used, and, similarly, very few periphrastic *do* forms are recorded in the area where the generalised -s form is found. Furthermore, the overlap between the periphrastic *do* construction and the generalised -s marker mainly takes place in the areas that are marked as peripheral areas of periphrastic *do* usage on Map 7. The only exceptions to this are the four Wiltshire localities (32W 1,3,6,7); four Monmouthshire localities (23Mon 2,3,5,6); and three Herefordshire localities (15He 4,5,6), and of these localities, only 32W 3 and 15He 4,5,6 show more than two instances of the -s marker. The fact that the overlap of the two constructions takes place in the peripheral areas of periphrastic *do* usage and that in the area of overlap -s forms are found in smaller numbers than in the more eastern areas of -s marking, gives support to Ihalainen, who argues that “a transitory belt lies between a prototypical *do*-area and an *s*-area, so that one can actually plot the thinning out of the feature concerned” (1991: 290–291).

If the suggestion that the area in the South of England where the generalised -s marker is found (Map 11a) represents the area where periphrastic *do* has previously been used is accepted, i.e. that the change towards standard English type tense and agreement marking proceeds via the generalised -s marker, we may then assume that Map 11a gives an indication of the historical distribution and contraction of periphrastic DO in English dialects. This would also support Wakelin’s (1983: 9) guess that “it may well be that the areas [of periphrastic DO use] shown on

VI.5.11: 5 La [6]; 6 Y [7,8,23,29,30,31,32]; 10 L [6,10]; 15 He 3,4; 16 Wo 4,5; 26 Bk 3; 29 Ess [15]; 33 Brk 5; 34 Sr [3]; 39 Ha 7; 40 Sx [1,3,6]

VIII.5.1: 1 Nb [6]; 2 Cu [4,5]; 3 Du [4,5]; 5 La 6; 6 Y [6,7],11,18,[21]; 7 Ch [4]; 8 Db [5]; 9 Nt [1]; 11 Sa [9,10,11]; 12 St [2]; 14 R [2]; 15 He 2,3,[7]; 16 Wo [2,3,4,5],6,7; 17 Wa [2,7]; 24 Gl 1,5; 25 O 1,[2,3,4,6]; 26 Bk 3; 29 Ess [7,14]; 30 MxL [1,2]; 31 So [1,2,12]; 32 W 3,[6,9]; 33 Brk 1,[2],3,4,5; 34 Sr [1,2,3],4,[5]; 35 K [1,2,4]; 36 Co [3]; 37 D [1,2,4,5,7,8]; 39 Ha [1],2,[3,4,5],6,7; 40 Sx [1],2,3,[4],5,[6]

VIII.5.2: 6 Y 14; 8 Db 1; 15 He 3; 16 Wo 4,6,7; 23 Mon 5; 24 Gl 1,2,5; 25 O 1; 32 W 9; 33 Brk [1,3],5; 39 Ha 1,3,6,[7]; 40 Sx 5

IX.1.9: 5 La 7; 6 Y 29; 16 Wo 3,5; 32 W 7; 33 Brk 5; 35 K 6; 39 Ha 4,7; 40 Sx 1,[3],5

the map were once part of a single, larger area bounded by Watling Street". Interestingly, this area coincides almost perfectly with the classic Moore, Meach and Whitehall (1935) delimitation of south-western dialects in Middle English. Other south-western features that follow this very old dialect boundary include the use of uninflected *be* and the voicing of initial fricatives (see Wakelin 1983: 6ff.).

In Map 11b I have plotted the occurrences of the generalised -s marker in the whole of England. Map 11b gives a clear indication of the fact that the use of the generalised inflection marker -s in the south-western dialects of England is not the same construction as the northern subject rule construction; only scattered instances of the -s marker with pronoun subjects are found in the North of England, whereas in the South-West of England the type of the subject does not play a role in the occurrence in of the -s marker.

We know that periphrastic *DO* is a dialect feature which historically has been receding in a westward direction. Thus the clear complementary distribution of the two constructions gives some support to the suggestion which goes back to Elworthy (1886), that when dialect speakers drop the rule from their grammar which allows unstressed periphrastic *DO* in affirmative sentences, the change proceeds via a generalised -s marker construction.

In Map 12 I have mapped separately, for the sake of comparison, the answers to those two *SED* Questionnaire items that contain a full NP subject immediately adjacent to the verb. The two *SED* Questionnaire items are the following:

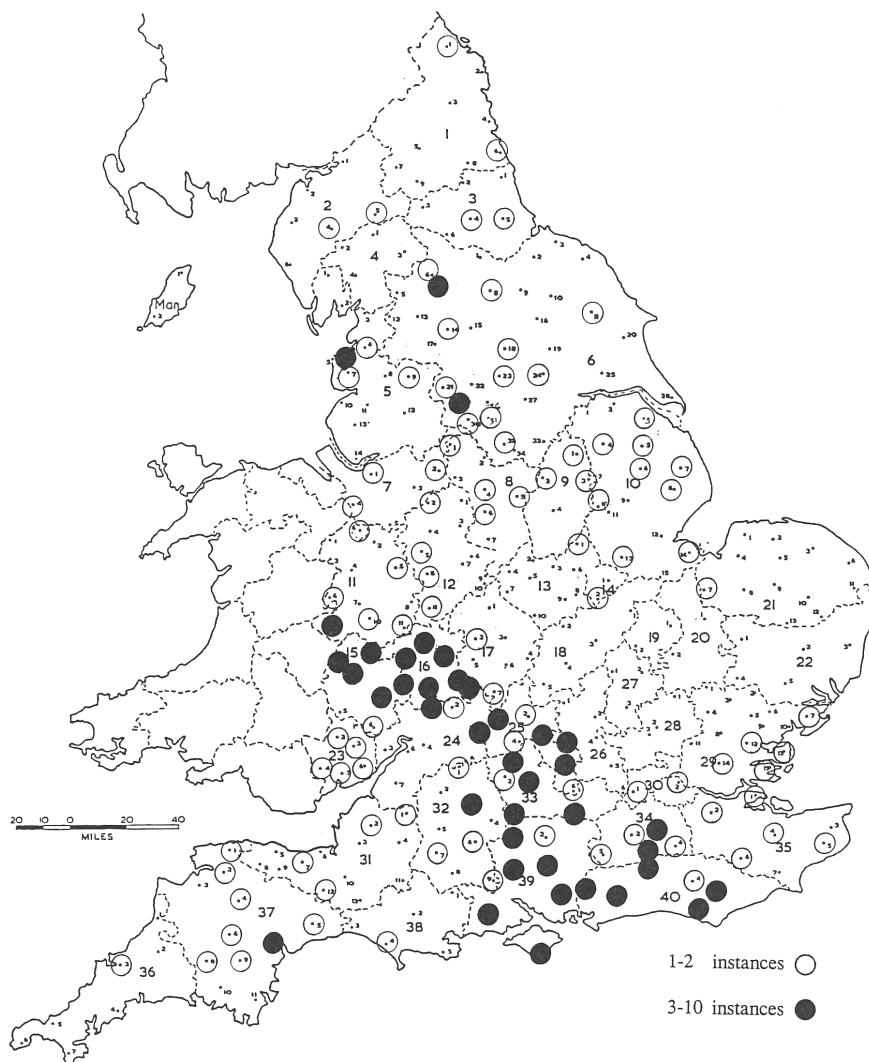
III.10.7 (Bulls **bellow.**)

VIII.75 (What do burglars do? They break into houses and **steal.** So you can say: We ordinary people buy the things we need, but **burglars steal them.**)

In Map 12 separate symbols are used for those localities where the answer to only one or the other of the two Questionnaire items contained the -s marker and those where the answers to both questions contained the -s marker.¹⁷

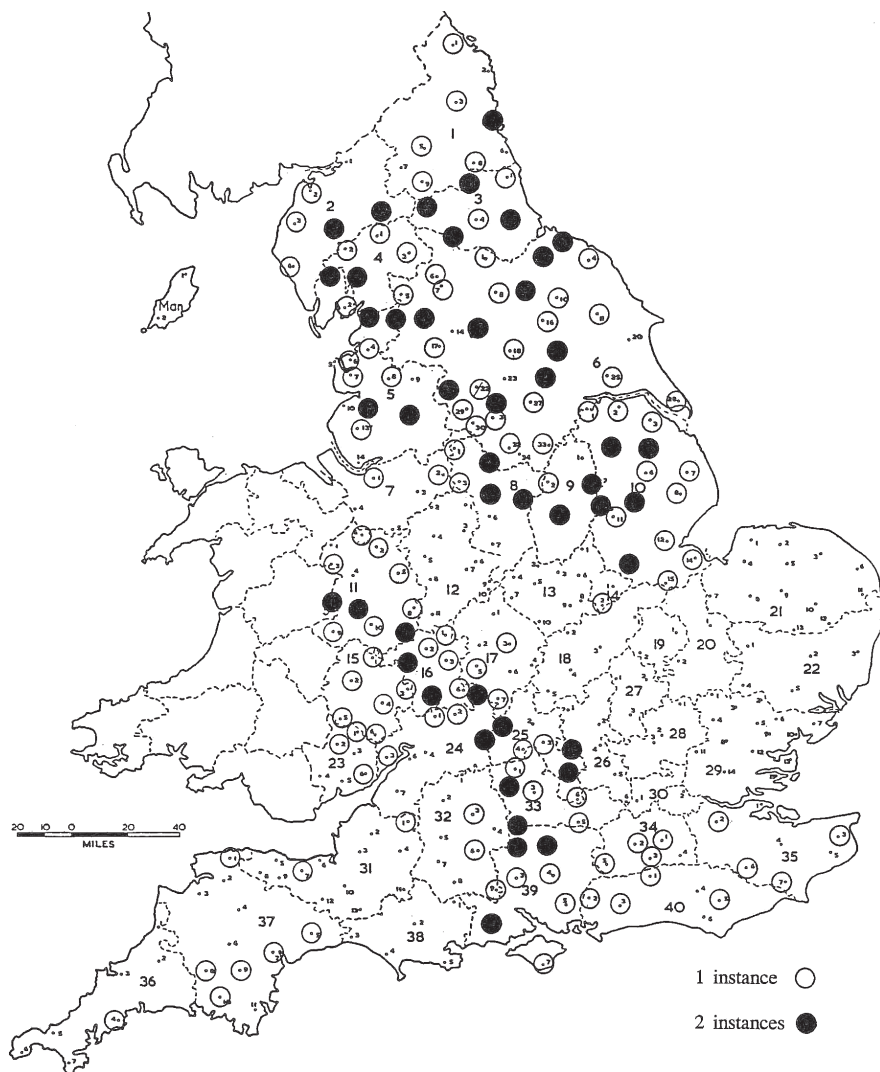
¹⁷ Generalised -s -forms with full NP subjects are found in the following *SED* localities in the *Basic Material*. (Square brackets around a locality indicate that the answer to the question does not include an -s form, but the Incidental Material listed under this question does contain a generalised -s form.):

III.10.7: 1 Nb 1,[3,4,5,8],9; 2 Cu 2,3,4,5,6; 3 Du 1,2,3,4,5,6; 4 We 1,2,4; 5 La [1],2,[3],4,6,[7],8,11, [12],13; 6 Y [1],2,3,[4],5,6,[7],8,9,10,[11,12],13,[15,16],17,[18,19],21,22,24,[25,26,27],28,[29], 30,[32,33]; 7 Ch 1,[2],6; 8 Db 1,2,3,[4,5]; 9 Nt [2],3,4, 10 L [1],4,5,6, [8],9,10,11,[12], 14,[15]; 11 Sa 6,7,[9]; 14 R [2]; 15 He 7; 16 Wo [4,5,7]; 17 Wa [3],5, 7; 23 Mon [4]; 24 Gl 5; 25 O 1,[4,5,6]; 30 MxL [1]; 31 So 7,12; 32 W [3],6,9; 33 Brk 1,2,[3,4]; 34 Sr [1],2,[3,4,5]; 35 K 1,[2],3,6,7; 36 Co [2,4]; 37 D [1,3],5,[7],8,9,10; 39 Ha 1,2,[4],5,6,7; 40 Sx 1,[2],3,[5]



Map 11b: Generalised -s in England (full NP subjects excluded).

VIII.7.5: 1 Nb 4; 2 Cu 4,5; 3 Du 2,3,5,6; 4 We 3,4; 5 La 1,3,11,12; 6 Y 2,3,9,12,13,15,19,21,24, 26,31; 8 Db 2,4,5; 9 Nt 3,4; 10 L 2,3,4,5,9,10,13; 11 Sa 2,3,5,6,7,8,9,10,11; 15 He 1,2, 3,4,5,6; 16 Wo 1,2,3,4,5,6,[7]; 23 Mon 1,2,6; 24 Gl 1,2,3; 25 O 1,3,5; 26 Bk 3; 31 So 1; 32 W 9; 33 Brk 2,4,5; 39 Ha 1,2,3,6,7.



Map 12: Generalised -s in England (full NP subjects only).

Map 12 provides a clear indication that the northern subject rule was alive during the time the *SED* was conducted; a comparison of Maps 11b and 12 shows clearly that whereas in the northern dialects only scattered examples of -s are found when the subject is a personal pronoun adjacent to the verb, the type of the subject NP (pronoun vs. full NP) does not affect the occurrence of -s in the south-western areas. It must, however, also be pointed out that the fairly large

number of instances of -s on Map 11b indicates that the northern subject rule is not categorically observed even in the North of England. (Notice however that the violations of the northern subject rule typically occur in Yorkshire and the North Midlands counties to the south of Yorkshire; the counties representing the North proper (Northumbria, Cumbria, Durham, Westmorland) follow the northern subject rule in practically every case.)¹⁸

6 Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter has been to try to determine the geographical distribution of periphrastic DO in traditional present-day dialects of English. The attempt at delimiting the area where periphrastic DO is used in traditional dialects is based both on the published *SED* Basic Material (Orton et al. 1962–1971) and the unpublished material found in the *SED* fieldworkers' notebooks. The few previous attempts at determining the geographical distribution of this feature have been based on a much narrower data base and thus, not surprisingly, they have also led us to believe that the geographical distribution of periphrastic DO is much narrower than the present study indicates.

Edwards, Trudgill and Weltens (1984: 23), in their survey of English dialect grammar research, discuss the use of DO-periphrasis. They point out that some aspects of this construction have not been satisfactorily discussed in the existing literature on dialect grammar. In particular, they (ibid.) list the following aspects of the use of periphrastic DO as 'not clear':

- its geographical distribution is not clear (cf. Rogers, 1979: 39 and Wakelin 1972a: 120–1),
- several sources seem to limit its use to the present tense,
- sometimes it is not clear whether simple present and past are actually replaced by this periphrastic construction, or whether they exist side by side, with different meanings or not,
- Its habitual meaning is not entirely certain, at least for Herefordshire; it is referred to as "the use of redundant *do*" (Leeds 1974). It is perfectly possible however that authors have simply failed to observe the difference in aspect.

¹⁸ Note, however, that the discussion here is based only on the data published in the *SED* Northern volume. See Ramisch (2010) and Pietsch (2005: 169–172) for discussions of generalised -s that take into account the mostly unpublished *SED* 'incidental material'. For further discussion on the origins of the Northern Subject Rule, see Benskin (2011), de Haas (2011) and Cole (2014).

The analysis of the *SED* fieldworker notebook data presented here provides an answer to the first two of the questions set by Edwards, Trudgill and Weltens. The geographical distribution of the use of periphrastic *DO* presented above is based on all the available *SED* data, and thus represents the situation at the time the Survey of English Dialects was conducted with as much accuracy as we can hope for. The *SED* data also give some indication that periphrastic *DO* is only used in the present tense in West Cornwall, but that both the present and past tense forms are used elsewhere. The nature of the data (which, as we have seen above, consist of unconnected utterances and utterance fragments) has not allowed me to answer the last two of the questions set by Edwards, Trudgill and Weltens in this chapter.¹⁹

I have also been able to demonstrate that the geographical distribution of periphrastic *DO*, at the time when the *SED* fieldwork was conducted in the 1950s, was more extensive than has earlier been reported. This result illustrates the importance of the unpublished *SED* materials.

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¹⁹ The semantics of periphrastic *DO* in southwestern dialects of English are discussed in some detail in chapter 4 of Klemola (1996) and in Klemola (1998).

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